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## THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN THIRD-CENTURY SPARTA

(Concluded from page 68)

The socialistic teachings of the philosophers and the socialistic yearnings of the masses were suddenly galvanized into life when the condition for perfect government stipulated by Plato was fulfilled and a Spartan king was wholeheartedly converted to the philosophy of the Stoic reformers. The resultant "rally of civilization", as Mr. Arnold Toynbee calls it<sup>43</sup>, is sympathetically described in Plutarch's lives of the Spartan kings Agis and Cleomenes, drawn from the strongly partizan but none the less veracious account of Phylarchus<sup>44</sup>. "...Any one who reads them will feel the gallantry of this rally and the pathos of its failure..."<sup>45</sup> During the last year or two the gallantry and the pathos have been perceived by Miss Una Broadbent and have by her been transmuted into a penetrating four-act play, which she has called *Agis, King of Sparta*<sup>46</sup>. They have been perceived also by Miss Naomi Mitchison, who has written around the character of Cleomenes a beautiful and moving novel of seven hundred pages, entitled *The Corn King and the Spring Queen*<sup>47</sup>.

The Agis that ascended the Spartan throne in 244 B. C.<sup>48</sup> was as patriotic a Spartan as had ever lived. Delicately and luxuriously nurtured by a fond mother and grandmother, he willingly forsook the soft life of his class to wear a coarse Spartan cloak and to eat coarse Spartan bread in order to bring back the golden age of Lyncurgus which the Stoic teachers had projected, and in which, Agis believed, lay the salvation of Sparta. His royal estate he valued only because it afforded him wider opportunities to heal the breach of his people<sup>49</sup>. The substance of Agis's plan was to make a division of the land and assign allotments to those who were landless, in order that equality and the common meals might be restored. Agis proposed to divide the land nearer Sparta into 4,500 lots for Spartiates, and the remoter districts into 15,000 lots for *perioeci*<sup>50</sup>. The Ly-

curgan system had provided 9,000 lots for Spartiates and 30,000 for *perioeci*<sup>51</sup>. Clearly, the identity of these ratios is not fortuitous.

A necessary corollary of a distribution of land was the cancellation of debts<sup>52</sup>. This was the second item of Agis's reforms: the new and penniless holders of land would profit little by land heavily encumbered with mortgages. Agis's own sincerity is demonstrated by the fact that he freely distributed his own holdings and induced the wealthy women of his family (in whose possession, as we have seen, there was likely to be a great accumulation of property) and some of the young nobles who became his devoted followers to do likewise. Some of the less idealistic among the propertied classes, Agis's own uncle Agesilaus at their head, were laden with heavy mortgages. These men were eager for the execution of half of Agis's program, and so simulated interest in the reform project as a whole. They displaced the Ephors with men of their own group, and were so enabled to effect the banishment of the older, reactionary king, Leonidas. They then proceeded to cancel debts; but they would go no farther with the program of Agis. The distribution of land was postponed on one pretext after another, and distrust of Agis was thus aroused among his followers. Then Agesilaus and his associates had Agis go north to war, displaced with their own creatures the Ephors devoted to his cause, and recalled Leonidas. When Agis returned, he took sanctuary in the Temple of the Brazen House, whence he was treacherously lured and foully murdered<sup>53</sup>.

In order to secure the large property to which Agis's young widow was heir Leonidas caused her to be married to his very young son Cleomenes<sup>54</sup>. But the gentle and beautiful Agiatis had no hatred for her boy husband, whom she knew to be innocent of any intentional wrong toward her, and rather filled him with enthusiasm for the improvement of Sparta's lot according to the plans of Agis. Moreover, Cleomenes had as tutor the Stoic Sphaerus, of Borysthenes<sup>55</sup>, who had been among the first of Zeno's pupils, and among whose writings Diogenes Laertius<sup>56</sup> lists such significant titles as 'Of Kingship', 'Of the Spartan Constitution', 'Of Lyncurgus and Socrates'. Cleomenes was as zealous as Agis had been, but less the saint and more the man of

<sup>43</sup>In *The Legacy of Greece*, 314 (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1924). In his book *Greek Civilisation and Character. The Self-Revelation of Ancient Greek Society*, 72-82 (Library of Greek Thought, New York, Dutton, 1924) Mr. Toynbee translates the relevant portions of Plutarch's Agis. <For a review, by Professor I. M. Linforth, of this book, see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 19, 223-224, C. K.>

<sup>44</sup>On Plutarch's use of Phylarchus and on Phylarchus's historicity see E. Bux, *Zwei Sozialistische Novellen bei Plutarch*, *Klio* 10 (1925), 413-431. The fragments of Phylarchus may be read in F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, II A, 161-189 (Berlin, Weidmann, 1926).

<sup>45</sup>Arnold Toynbee, 314 (see note 43, above).

<sup>46</sup>London, George Allen and Unwin (1930).

<sup>47</sup>New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Co. (1931). This book deals with many aspects of Hellenistic life and thought, in many parts of the Hellenistic world, with knowledge and understanding. As the title suggests, the author is unduly influenced by the school of Harrison-Murray-Cornford.

<sup>48</sup>Plutarch's Life of Agis is the best account of Agis; compare the writings of Mr. Tarn, as cited in note 26, above.

<sup>49</sup>Plutarch, Agis 4.

<sup>50</sup>Plutarch, Agis 8.

<sup>51</sup>Plutarch, Lyncurgus 8.

<sup>52</sup>A parenthesis in Tarn's account in *The Hellenistic Age*<sup>2</sup>, 133 (see note 26, above) must be quoted: "...The Greeks, of course, hardly took our view of private debts; law courts always favoured the debtor, and it is said that more than once debts had been discharged, even in mercantile Corinth, by the elementary process of killing the creditors..."

<sup>53</sup>This paragraph is a condensed periphrasis of Plutarch's Agis, with the help of modern accounts, especially that of Tarn, in *The Hellenistic Age*<sup>2</sup>, 132-134 (see note 26, above).

<sup>54</sup>The best account of Cleomenes is Tarn's, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 7, 752-763.

<sup>55</sup>It is worth noting that another Stoic teacher, C. Blossius, of Cumae, helped to inspire the reforms of Tiberius Gracchus: see Cicero, *De Amicitia* 37.

<sup>56</sup>1.78.

action; he leaves with us an impression of great earnestness and intensity. Furthermore, he cherished greater ambitions, for a regenerated Sparta, if not for himself. After Cleomenes had matured his plans through a decade of kingship, he provoked a war with the Achaean League in order to make an opportunity for his revolution. He took an occasion to leave the citizen troops in camp at a distance from Sparta, hurried home with the mercenaries he had engaged, turned the Ephors out of office, and exiled eighty of his more powerful opponents; in the accomplishing of this revolution only fourteen lives were lost.

It is significant that Cleomenes set aside eighty lots for the exiles when he came to cancel the debts and divide the land, in accordance with the plans of Agis. As a result of the new allotments and consequent enfranchisements Cleomenes was able to put some 15,000 Spartiates into the field, as compared with the traditional Spartan 6,000. He restored the traditional Spartan education and the rigorous discipline in food and clothing<sup>57</sup>:

...his alone, of all the Greek or royal armies, had no stage players, no jugglers, no dancing or singing women attending it, but was free from all sorts of looseness, wantonness, and festivity; the young men being for the most part at their exercises, and the old men giving them lessons. . . .

The regenerated Sparta might have continued indefinitely, or as long as Rome could endure it, if Cleomenes had been content to forego larger ambitions. But Sparta's new military strength made Cleomenes a third factor in the politics of Greece (the others were Antigonos Doson of Macedonia, and Aratus, the leading spirit of the Achaean League). To control the grasping Macedonian, Aratus should have combined with Cleomenes, but Cleomenes's communistic tendencies, which had naturally been widely heralded among the disinherited of the Peloponnese, prevented such a combination. The disinherited favored Cleomenes; Aratus with the propertied classes naturally turned to Antigonos. Even so, Cleomenes might have succeeded if it had not become apparent that his social reformation was intended for Sparta only, and was calculated to produce a Sparta so strong that it could resume its traditional hegemony of the Peloponnese. In the Battle of Sellasia (222 B. C.) Cleomenes was defeated by Antigonos with Macedonian and League troops. Cleomenes and twelve devoted followers thought the traditional Spartan death on the battlefield too easy for men with a vision to accomplish. They determined to live on for Sparta, and went to Egypt in the hope of obtaining assistance from a Ptolemy who had shown himself ready to subsidize any promising anti-Macedonian movement. How they suffered there and how they died there, they and the devoted band of their women, constitute a story, as reported by Plutarch from Phylarchus, which for pure pathos can be set only beside Euripides's *Troades*. But Euripides gives us fiction, illuminated, perhaps, by a contemporary

tragedy; we have no reason to doubt the story of the death of Cleomenes and his twelve.

So Sparta fell, and Cleomenes's reforms were undone. Except for implanting radical seeds more deeply in the minds of the people his moderate revolution had been as little successful as Agis's mere reforms had been.

After reform and moderate revolution the third step is violent revolution; in Sparta this step was taken by Nabis, who became king in 207. Despite the contrary opinion of many historians ancient and modern, it is my belief that the career of Nabis was in the highest sense patriotic. His program was approved by the great bulk of his people, and his communism, if unmolested, would have endured sufficiently long to have provided the world with a specimen of a communism that had worked, so that moderns could study its merits and its defects, as they study the merits and the defects of the Athenian democracy and of the Roman Republic. That it did not endure even long enough to demonstrate what the essential weakness of the system might be was due in the first instance to Rome's conservative distrust of innovation and to her military power. Ancient history has little room and less sympathy for lost causes. When a lost cause does earn a paragraph, it is treated from the point of view of the prevailing order, and, consciously or not, writers distort the facts to accord with the sympathies of the prevailing order. Frequently the virulence of the attack on a lost cause may be regarded as a gauge of its success<sup>58</sup>.

It is my purpose now to show that hostile criticism of Nabis and his reforms, both ancient and modern, derive from a single source. If we discount this source and form our judgment solely on the basis of Nabis's achievements, we shall get a different picture of his motives and of his methods.

For Agis and Cleomenes the principal literary source is Phylarchus, as represented in Plutarch's lives of the two reformers. For Nabis we have, at first glance, much more abundant information than for Agis and Cleomenes. Not only is there an account of him in Polybius<sup>59</sup>, but there are more or less extensive notices concerning him in Livy<sup>60</sup>, Diodorus<sup>61</sup>, Pausanias<sup>62</sup>, and Plutarch<sup>63</sup>. But this seeming abundance is illusory, for it has been proven<sup>64</sup>, I think, that every one of the later authors who mention Nabis has drawn from Polybius. It might be worth while, then, to glance at what Polybius has to say of Nabis, and to determine its credibility. This is the evidence of Polybius<sup>65</sup>:

Nabis, tyrant of the Lacedaemonians. . . . utterly exterminated those of the royal houses who survived in Sparta, and banishing those citizens who were distinguished for their wealth and illustrious ancestry, gave their property and wives to the chief of his own supporters and to his mercenaries, who were for the most part murderers, rippers, highwaymen, and bur-

<sup>57</sup>Plutarch, *Cleomenes* 13. The translation is that of the 'Dryden' Plutarch, revised by Arthur H. Clough, in *Everyman's Library*, 3.106.

<sup>58</sup>I may cite an attempt of my own to rehabilitate a maligned leader of the opposition: Sextus Pompey (New York, Columbia University Press, 1930). <For a review, by Professor M. L. W. Laistner, of this book see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 25.110-111. C. K.>

<sup>59</sup>13.6, 7, 8; 16.13, 16, 17; 18.17; 21.9.

<sup>60</sup>29.12.14; 34.31.13. <sup>61</sup>27.1. <sup>62</sup>4.20.10.

<sup>63</sup>Philopoemen 13.1, 14-15; Flaminius 13.

<sup>64</sup>By Johannes Mundt, *Nabis König von Sparta* (Münster dissertation, 1903).

<sup>65</sup>Polybius 13.6.1-5, 13.8.2. The translation is that by W. R. Paton, in *The Loeb Classical Library*, 4.419-421, 423.



glars. For such kind of people flocked sedulously to his court from all over the world, people who dared not set foot in their own countries owing to their crimes against God and man. As he constituted himself their protector and employed these men as satellites and members of his bodyguard, it was evident that his rule would long be memorable for its wickedness. . . . he participated in the acts of piracy of the Cretans, and through the whole of the Peloponnese he had plunderers of temples, highwaymen and assassins, the profits of whose misdeeds he shared and allowed them to make Sparta their base of operations and their refuge. . . .

If we accept the conclusions of the 'Quellenforscher', as I am convinced we should in this case, we need not be concerned with the unfavorable notices<sup>66</sup> in the later writers; they merely reflect the clearly expressed attitude of their source, Polybius. But what of that source? Polybius has always been held up as a model for historians, as scientific in method, philosophical in outlook, veracious in conclusions<sup>67</sup>. The sentence with which Theodor Mommsen closes his appreciative estimate of Polybius is often quoted<sup>68</sup>:

... His books are like the sun in the field of Roman history; at the point where they begin the veil of mist which still envelops the Samnite and Pyrrhic wars is raised, and at the point where they end a new and, if possible, still more vexatious twilight begins. . . .

In view of his high regard for the authority of Polybius, and, more important, of his uncompromising attitude toward democratic institutions and popular movements, we may expect Mommsen to show little sympathy for Nabis and his movement. Although the life of Mommsen's history has passed three score years and ten, the weight of his authority has naturally influenced subsequent historians of antiquity; and, since his views on Nabis are echoed by so many more modern authors<sup>69</sup>, I shall cite Mommsen's own words<sup>70</sup> to represent the older view:

... The only one of these states <of the Peloponnese> possessing any importance was the Spartan military monarchy, which after the death of Machanidas had passed into the hands of one Nabis. With ever-increasing hardihood Nabis leaned on the support of vagabonds and itinerant mercenaries, to whom he assigned not only the houses and lands, but also the wives and children, of the citizens; and he assiduously

maintained connections, and even entered into an association for the joint prosecution of piracy, with the great refuge of mercenaries and pirates, the island of Crete. . . . he was personally hated for his baseness and cruelty. . . . <he was> an obstinate petty robber-chieftain.

But how good is the generally unimpeachable authority of Polybius (and therefore, of course, of all who follow him) in this particular case? It is of some moment to determine whether we are dealing with a mere brigand, however successful he may have been, or with a 'gallant rally of civilization' whose force was suppressed by Rome's arms and whose memory was degraded by Rome's characteristic defamation of its too successful adversaries. We know our own American attitude toward a remote country where efforts zealous and sincere, however misguided they may be, are being made to improve the condition of the people and their State. Romans, whose likeness to Americans has frequently been noted<sup>71</sup>, would certainly have a similar attitude, and the early historians of Rome are notoriously unwilling to find kind words for the opponents of the established order or of the existing government. Now Polybius was a partizan of the established order and of the existing government at Rome. When he was six years old (in 200 B. C.), his native city, Megalopolis, was so severely besieged by Nabis that the inhabitants were forced to keep themselves within their walls and to sow their very streets<sup>72</sup>. Polybius's father, Lycortas, whom Polybius considers only less great than Aratus and Philopoemen, served as cavalry captain against Nabis under Philopoemen<sup>73</sup>, whom he greatly admired<sup>74</sup>. As we shall see, Philopoemen's hatred of Nabis was not satisfied even by Nabis's death. Polybius was doubtless brought up on tales of Nabis's tyrannical cruelty. Nabis was the mortal enemy of his father's friend, the mortal enemy of the Achaean League, to which Polybius's affection remained constant, the mortal enemy of Rome, on which Polybius bestowed his maturer loyalty: how, then, could Polybius be expected to see anything but baseness in Nabis's efforts?

To speak, as Mommsen and his followers do, of 'one Nabis' is no longer possible. Nabis has been proven a Spartiate and a Heraclid; he is styled 'king' in contemporary epigraphical material<sup>75</sup>. Livy<sup>76</sup> indicates that Flaminius had addressed Nabis formally as *rex*, and the proud Antigonid Philip was willing to marry his daughters to Nabis's sons<sup>77</sup>. If Nabis had marriageable sons in 198, he must have lived through the revolution of Cleomenes, and, being of the blood royal, he was probably in close association with Cleomenes. Close association with the fiery spirit of Cleomenes imbued him, we may suppose, with Cleomenes's zeal for the restoration of the 'Lycurgan' order on the one hand, and for a powerful Sparta on the other. If we assume a

<sup>66</sup>All the passages cited in notes 60-63, above, are unfavorable. Look, for example, at Plutarch, Flaminius 13.1: . . . πρὸς Νάβιν . . . τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξωλέσταν καὶ παρανομώτατον τύραννον.

<sup>67</sup>Excellent recent appreciations of Polybius are T. R. Glover's chapter in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 8.1-24 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1930), and Carl Wunderer, *Polybios* (Leipzig, Dietrich, 1927).

<sup>68</sup>*The History of Rome*, in the translation by W. P. Dickson, 3.439-440 (Everyman's Library).

<sup>69</sup>Compare, for example, Robert von Pöhlmann, *Grundriss der Griechischen Geschichte*, 356 (Munich, Beck, 1914): "... in Sparta nach dem Tode des Machanidas mit Hilfe von Söldner- und Proletarierbanden und massenhaft befreiten Heloten alsbald eine neue Tyrannis erstand, die blutige Herrschaft des Nabis, der nach aussen hin trotz des Friedensschlusses auf eigene Faust eine reine Räuberpolitik verfolgte. . . ." Equally unsympathetic is the account of Nabis in a history of Sparta by a modern Greek scholar, Π.Χ.ΔΟΥΚΑΣ, *Η ΣΠΗΡΤΗ ΔΙΑ ΜΕΣΟΤ ΤΩΝ ΑΙΩΝΩΝ*, 258-283 (New York, The <Greek> National Herald, 1922). That the reader may observe its close relationship to Polybius and Mommsen I beg leave to cite a rather impassioned passage from page 274: ἤρπασε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν καλούμενων Νάβιν, ὅστις ἐφυγάδευσε ἢ ἐφόνευσε πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὸν πλοῦτον ἢ δόξαν διαφέροντας πολίτας, τὰς δὲ περιουσίας καὶ τὰς γυναῖδας καὶ τὰς παρόνους διμεύρασε ἐν τοῖς μισθοφόροις, ἀνδροφόνους ὄντας καὶ ληστὰς καὶ παντὸς εἶδους κακούργους. <For a review of this book, by Professor Carroll N. Brown, see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 18.191-192. C. K.>

<sup>70</sup>2.207, 2.232, in the edition cited in note 68, above.

<sup>71</sup>It may be mentioned that in Booth Tarkington's novel, *The Plutocrat* (New York, Doubleday, 1927), there are to be found some acute observations on the similarities of modern Americans to ancient Romans.

<sup>72</sup>Plutarch, Philopoemen 13. <sup>73</sup>Livy 35.29.1.

<sup>74</sup>Plutarch, Philopoemen 21.

<sup>75</sup>For the evidence for these statements see Maurice Holleaux in *The Cambridge Ancient History* (see note 67, above), 8.146-147. Section 12 of the Bibliography on page 749, and the note on page 180. <sup>76</sup>Livy 34.31.1. <sup>77</sup>Livy 32.38.3.

bias on the part of Polybius (who, it must be remembered, is, in the last analysis, our only source), and strip the enormities charged against Nabis of their rhetorical and horrific embellishments, we may interpret all his actions as proceeding from the highest patriotism. Plenty of politicians to-day will speak with sincere but none the less violent opprobrium of high income taxes and of high death duties on the one hand, and unemployment relief on the other, as stripping the rich for the benefit of the poor. A fresh 'deal' in the distribution of property had been a cardinal principle in the 'Lycurgan' reforms.

Whether one is to say that Nabis surrounded himself with the scum of the earth is also a matter of point of view. Certainly that would be the viewpoint of an aristocrat who had been elbowed out by a newly enfranchised helot, or of an opponent who found he must respect an army of newly enfranchised helots. Humanitarian or military motives, singly or in combination, would be an entirely adequate explanation of Nabis's move. We may see, too, how the charge regarding Nabis's treatment of women might arise from a levelling of class distinctions. The balder statement on this subject we may reserve the right to credit as little as the reports of the nationalization of women which came from Soviet Russia a few years ago.

Military leaders have never been fastidious in choosing auxiliaries. Furthermore, there may have been a genuine sympathy between Crete and Sparta. Nabis must have resumed state payment for common meals; the practice was current in Crete. Even sympathetic historians<sup>78</sup> criticize Nabis because he forsook Philip for Rome when Flaminius offered him Argos. But how should a Spartan, and especially a Spartan who had been attached to Cleomenes and had suffered from Macedonian supremacy after Cleomenes's defeat, be expected to remain loyal to Macedon? Certainly the Argives welcomed him; when Flaminius declared war on him, he had 2,000 Argives in his army whom he could evidently trust. In 207 Sparta had been prostrated by the defeat of Machanidas at the hands of Philopoemen<sup>79</sup>. It was an amazing feat on the part of Nabis to have developed an army of 10,000 citizens (partly enfranchised helots, of course) by 195. When Flaminius attacked Nabis, outnumbering his total forces three to one, Nabis's men drove him off<sup>80</sup>. "One can see", as Mr. Tarn says<sup>81</sup>, "that they must have fought for *some* sort of an idea, anyhow". When, in 192, the Aetolians treacherously murdered Nabis, the Spartans rose in fury and massacred the assassins<sup>82</sup>. When (in 188) Philopoemen decreed expulsion for the newly enfranchised helots, 3,000 refused to go and preferred to take the consequences. Thereupon they were seized and sold as slaves<sup>83</sup>. Then, Plutarch goes on<sup>84</sup>,

... Philopoemen took away and abolished the system of training which Lycurgus had instituted, and compelled their boys and their young men to adopt the

Achaean in place of their hereditary discipline, being convinced that while they were under the laws of Lycurgus they would never be humble....

No doubt it was to the highest interest of civilization that Nabis be crushed and Sparta obliterated. But if Agis, Cleomenes, and Nabis were all three actuated by a desire to help their fellowmen, to raise the poor from the dungheap that they might sit with the princes of the people, and to show that a State based on absolute equality could hold its own with other States, then certainly it is to the interest of civilization to record their effort honestly and not to malign them as cruel or mischievous or self-seeking.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

MOSES HADAS

## REVIEW

Latin for Today. By Mason D. Gray and Thornton Jenkins. Boston: Ginn and Company (1927). Pp. xxxiii + 445 + 58.

Latin for Today, by Mason D. Gray and Thornton Jenkins, was one of the first of the many first-year Latin books put out to meet the recommendations of the Classical Investigation of the American Classical League; it has been one of the most widely used. Like most others of its type, it omits the subjunctive entirely; it also omits many case-uses regularly given in earlier books, some of them of common occurrence, such as the ablative absolute, the ablative of degree of difference, and the accusative of extent of space. The imperfect tense is found for the first time on page 141; the perfect appears for the first time on page 173. The third declension appears for the first time on page 259; in fact this declension receives rather scanty treatment.

There is from the very first a large amount of reading matter. This matter consists very largely of 'made Latin', based mainly on the standard Latin stories. Each new group of forms and each new point of syntax are met first in the Latin text. A short explanation of form or point of syntax is given in the notes; later, a general statement about the matter is given. The connection between English and Latin is strongly emphasized, both by the great amount of space devoted to derivation and by comparisons in the field of syntax. This copious explanatory and descriptive material, added to a 50 per cent increase in the amount of Latin reading, has resulted in a beginners' book about twice as long as an average book of the earlier type, and one that seems much better fitted for those who can have only one year or two years of Latin, or for the first year of a five-year or six-year course than for those who wish to prepare for College in four years in all.

Derivation, in general, is clearly and accurately handled, but the effort to show the connection in sense between English words and their Latin originals often leads the authors along lines where it is hard to follow them. In 208.3<sup>1</sup> we read, "...To *denounce* means literally to tell about something fully (*de-*). But this is equivalent to severe censure, and, hence, 'to denounce a person' is 'to accuse him publicly.'..." Here we have

<sup>1</sup>Unless it is otherwise stated, all references are to paragraphs of the book.

<sup>78</sup>For example Holleaux, as cited in note 75, above.

<sup>79</sup>The Cambridge Ancient History, 8.133 (see note 67, above).

<sup>80</sup>*Ibidem*, 8.188-193.

<sup>81</sup>In *The Hellenistic Age*, 140 (as cited in note 26, above). I am following Mr. Tarn very closely here.

<sup>82</sup>The Cambridge Ancient History, 8.207 (see note 67, above).

<sup>83</sup>*Ibidem*, 8.237; Plutarch, Philopoemen 16.

<sup>84</sup>Plutarch, Philopoemen 16.

three statements, every one of which is wrong; the second statement is not causally related to the third, as the word "hence" should indicate. In 266 we read, "...A gregarious person is one who likes to flock with others..." But is it not about as hard for *one* person to flock as it would be for *one* person to disperse? In 551.3, "...To ordain is to set in order, and, hence, to issue a command..." Again there is no apparent causal relation between the parts of the sentence.

Some statements need no comment: "...A novel was originally so called because it contained news..." (24.3); "...A couch (from *con* + *locare*) is an object upon which one places oneself altogether, that is, in a heap..." (123.4). To say (24.1) that "The climate had a very *beneficent* effect", when, presumably, '*beneficial* effect' was meant, is not setting a good example in nice distinctions. We read (42), "When the President puts the word *veto* at the end of a bill passed by Congress..." But this he never does. Instead he writes, "I hereby return without my approval..." The only derivative given from *fugere* is *fugacious* (551).

There is an unusually large amount of grammatical explanation, most of it clear in analysis and expression. But many statements are carelessly or inaccurately worded. In 110, page 62, in a note on *agricola et boves*<sup>2</sup>, we find this statement, "...*Et* is used to connect words, phrases, and clauses that express the same idea". The statement (274.3) that "...The past progressive tense represents an action as taking place in past time..." is, in fact, a rather good definition of the *perfect* tense. In 708 we read, "The most common use of this participle < = the perfect passive participle > is to form the perfect, past perfect, and future perfect tenses of the passive voice with some form of the verb *sum*". In twenty pages of the *De Bello Gallico* taken at random this "most common" use amounted to 29 occurrences out of 287 (including 147 ablatives absolute). In a similar amount of *Livy* the count was 65 out of 300. In 757.3 we have the statement, "*Conjugation* is so called because it is a yoking together of the stem, tense sign, and personal endings". According to this statement each separate verbal form is a conjugation!!

According to 406.3, the prefix *con-* changes to *com-* before *m*. Of course *com-* is the earlier form.

In 784 we find these words: "A direct statement gives the exact words used by a speaker or writer in uttering his thought... as, *He says, 'The Capitol is a hill'*. An indirect statement does not use the exact words of the original statement... as, ... *He says the Capitol is a hill...*" Here both the indirect statement and the direct statement give exactly the same words (letters).

In 810.3 we read, "...The characteristic vowel of this declension < = the fourth declension > is *u*, appearing in the ablative singular, *manu*, and the genitive plural, *manuum*". Why omit the other six forms in which the *u* appears?

One of the worst instances of careless misstatement is found on page 2 of the Appendix: "*ng* has the sound of *ng* in *singing*. *nqu* has the sound of *nqu* in *relinquish*".

<sup>2</sup>In citing from the book under review Latin words, phrases, or sentences I omit, for convenience, the macrons.

Inserting 'never' before *has* in the first statement would somewhat improve that utterance. The second statement is wholly inadequate. Both points, and others, could easily be covered by this statement: '*n* before *c*, *g*, *q*, and *x* has the sound of *ng* in *sing*'.

The rules for quantity that follow are much too complicated for first-year students, and too inaccurate and incomplete for teachers.

There are several general statements such as (252.3) "...The <Roman> dinner lasted three or four hours, or until bedtime..." and (252.5) "The usual number of persons at dinner was nine" which give a badly distorted picture, for they can be true for only a very small fraction of the population of Rome.

We read in 810.7 that "...The Roman *passus*, *pace*, was the distance from the point where the foot left the ground to the point where the same foot struck the ground. This distance was about five feet..." What an effort to be exact, and what a failure! For the distance, of course, was from *heel-mark* to *heel-mark*, and not from *toe-mark* to *heel-mark* (as Messrs. Gray and Jenkins state); this latter distance would be about four feet.

Most of the illustrations have been drawn especially for this book. They are vivid in conception and artistically pleasing, but fifteen or more might have, as a sub-title, the words 'What's wrong with this picture?', either because of discrepancy with the Latin text, or of inherent impossibility.

In 643 the position of Perseus and the attitude of Medusa are directly at variance with the story, and the mirror is held at an angle impossible for its purpose. Later in the text of this story (681), Perseus takes off his winged sandals, releases Andromeda, and restores her to her father. In the picture, he is strolling home, alone with her, along the seashore, and he is still wearing his sandals.

In 809 the Sabine women are shown with children four years or five years of age, and as intervening in a battle which, one would infer from the Latin text, came only a few days or a few weeks after their seizure.

Anchorises, on leaving Troy, must have weighed about as much as Tithonus in his later years. In 394 he is carrying the sacred vessels and is riding on the left arm of his son, who nevertheless maintains a perfectly upright position. Many other and more famous artists also have failed to realize that the only way for one man to be carried by another for any considerable distance is to have the center of gravity of the one carried come directly over the spinal column of the carrier.

In 402, in the illustration, Icarus and Daedalus are depicted in their aerial flight, equipped with six-foot wings growing from their shoulder blades (despite Ovid). Such wings would require for safe clearance some fifteen feet between the bodies to which they are attached: yet Icarus is trustingly grasping his father's wrist!

The general effect of the Latin stories is that of English turned into Latin with considerable disregard of Latin idiom in the choice of words, in case-constructions, in word-order, and in the use of tenses. Since Harpers' Lexicon gives fifteen instances of *post*

and the ablative in expressions which show how long afterward something occurred, and only one instance of *post* with the accusative, and since Latin literature shows an even greater disproportion, what excuse has a first-year Latin book for a score of 12 to 0 in favor of *post* with accusative?

It is no secret that the vocative, in Latin, is usually postpositive. In this book 34 of the first 39 vocatives and about half of those that follow stand first in the sentences of which they are a part.

In 250 are found the combinations *ab viris*, and *ab magistro*, though *ab* was practically never used before *v* and *m*.

The use of *ab* with *libero* is frequently found in this book, e. g. in 317... *A quo Roma et patria a periculo liberabuntur?*... But this construction is never used except when the ablative denotes persons; even of that usage there are only a few instances.

Other wrong uses are *sedeo* for *consido* (262), and *interdum* (583) to mean 'in some cases'.

In 609 it is said that "Place where is expressed by the ablative case with the preposition *in*. The verb does not express motion" (these two sentences are all in bold-face type). Do persons never *move in (within) a house or in (within) a city?*

In 722, 782, and 833, the parenthetical *ut accidit*, in the sense of *forte*, or of *accidit ut*, etc., is nothing but an English idiom transferred to the Latin. "*Habet XV annos*" (86, *et passim*) is borrowed in the same way from the French.

The most persistent fault of the 'made Latin' in this book is found in its use of tenses. Over and over again, contrary to the almost invariable Latin usage, for description the present tense is used instead of the imperfect, in connection with historical presents. This occurs not only before the imperfect is reached (273), but throughout the book. Not content with that, the authors frequently use what might be called an 'historical future', coordinated with a past descriptive; compare e. g. 402, "... *Praeterea nullum navigium habebat; et quo modo... viri trans aquas latas et altas sine navigio transportabuntur?*" Here we have a shifting of time spheres which may be found, perhaps, in English stories for children, but not in Latin.

In some cases this future is used where good Latin would require an imperfect subjunctive; compare 628, "... *Perseum interficere in animo habebat. Sed quo modo eum interficiet?*" On the other hand, the authors sometimes seem to think that any verb which shows a past continuing action should be in the imperfect, and so imperfects and perfects are sometimes coordinated; compare e. g. page 268, line 3, "*Postea Fabricius consul creatus est et Romanos contra regem ducebat...*" With full allowance for the many cases where either tense is permissible, it seems fair to say that the use of one for the other occurs continually throughout the book.

In 402 the pluperfect is wrongly used with *ubi*, apparently just to show a pluperfect passive form.

Ancient customs are described by means of the present tense: "... *Romani... antiqui bella amant...*"

(150)<sup>3</sup>; "... *Hic... murus a Romanis spina appellatur...*" (262).

Perhaps not enough has been said of the good qualities of the book. The general impression that a very thorough and minute inspection of the book has produced on me is distinctly better than would be indicated by the long list of imperfections given above. It may be admitted that not one of the blemishes that have been mentioned, or of many others of a similar sort is likely to prove a serious handicap to a *beginning student* in his study of Latin. Even in their rather formidable entirety they would not very much affect his entrance to College. But they are disconcerting to a teacher who can recognize them, and many of them simply shout for recognition. The teacher cannot let them pass unnoticed. But repeated correction of a text-book is bound to endanger the morale of a class.

Most of these mistakes could easily have been avoided by greater care and, perhaps, somewhat greater outlay of money. Surely the publishers of a book like this, which is likely, if at all successful, to have a wide use, are under a definite obligation to their public to present a book reasonably free from minor defects, an obligation which in this case has not been well met. A book as good as this ought to have been a great deal better.

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#### CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

##### IV

The Modern Language Review—July, Brief review, very favorable, by C. J. S<isson>, of George Gordon, Virgil in English Poetry; October, Some Reflections on Spitteler's 'Prometheus und Epimetheus', A. H. J. Knight [the author maintains that, despite the lack of superficial resemblances, Spitteler's Prometheus und Epimetheus is indebted to Aeschylus as well as to other Greek sources: "the 'moral', the 'Weltanschauung', the meaning of Spitteler's work is almost exactly that of the *Prometheus Vinculus*"]; Long review, mildly unfavorable, by Ritchie Girvan, of Tom B. Haber, A Comparative Study of the Beowulf and the Aeneid; Review, generally favorable, by E. K. Chambers, of C. W. Previt -Orton, Opera Hactenus Inedita T. Livii De Frulovisiis De Ferraria.

Modern Philology—August, Ilium, The Palace of Priam, A. A. Hill [this article offers an explanation of the regular medieval usage of the word *Ilium* as meaning Priam's palace]; Review, mildly unfavorable, by H. W. Prescott, of Pauline Aiken, The Influence of the Latin Elegists on English Lyric Poetry, 1600-1650, With Particular Reference to the Works of Robert Herrick.

<sup>3</sup>In view of the true meaning of *antiqui* this clause is a 'howler'. If I want to say in Latin "Once in the dear dead days beyond recall", I need to use only one word, *antiquitus*. I do not mind if a student calls me *vetus*, but woe unto him or unto her who calls me *antiquus*! Messrs. Gray and Jenkins really said here, 'the *non-existent* Romans love [or, are loving *now*] war!!! In a first-year Latin book Latin words should, surely, be used accurately. C. K.>.



- Modern Language Notes—April, Wycherley, Montaigne, Tertullian, and Mr. Summers, H. M. Jones [the author holds that two lines of Latin quoted in the dedication of William Wycherley's *The Plain Dealer* come, through Montaigne, from Tertullian, *De Pudicitia* 1]; Review, mildly favorable, by P. F. Jones, of Tom B. Haber, *A Comparative Study of the Beowulf and the Aeneid*; Brief review, favorable, by Douglas Bush, of Dougall Crane, *Johannes Secundus: His Life, Work, and Influence on English Literature*; June, Review, favorable, by C. R. Hart, of Harry V. Wann, *The Tradition of the Homeric Simile in Eighteenth Century French Poetry*; November, Review, favorable, by G. C. Taylor, of F. O. Matthiessen, *Translation, An Elizabethan Art*; December, *The Identity of a Latin Quotation in Chateaubriand*, Chandler B. Beall [Chateaubriand is quoting Sannazaro, *De Partu Virginis* 2.214-219]; Review, generally favorable, by F. H. Wilkens, of Ellen Breede, *Studien zu den Lateinischen und Deutschsprachlichen Totentanztexten des 13. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*; Brief review, mildly unfavorable, by H. C. Lancaster, of Katherine E. Wheatley, *Molière and Terence, A Study in Molière's Realism*.
- The New England Quarterly—July, Scholasticism in the Colonial Colleges, James J. Walsh [this article discusses "the so-called Theses or Thesis-Sheets: broadsides containing lists of philosophical and other propositions in Latin and Greek, which were printed for distribution among the audience on Commencement days in the colonial colleges"; many examples of the theses are appended].
- The New York Times Magazine—November 13, *Out of the Dust Ancient Greece Arises*, Mary Lee [with six photographic illustrations].
- Nuova Antologia (Roma)—September 1, *Linguistica Classica*, Alfredo Schiaffini [this article embraces a number of reviews]; September 16, *Africa e Sicilia*, Biagio Pace [the article deals largely with ancient history]; October 1, *Preistoria*, Ugo Rellini ["Il Congresso Preistorico Internazionale a Londra", August, 1932].
- Publications of the Modern Language Association of America—June, *Animal Simile in Paradise Lost*, James Whaler ["Of course he <=Milton> was free to originate novel images from contemporary events or his own personal experience; but Homer's high precedent, or Vergil's, prescribed the old images as well. Milton's choice of imagery, however, is distinguished from that of other important epic poets of Western Europe by an iron control over, a virtual renunciation of, animal similes". A comparison is made of Milton's practice with that of certain classical poets, notably Homer and Vergil].
- Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France—January-March, Review, favorable, by Pierre Moreau, of Louis H. Naylord, *Chateaubriand and Virgil*; April-June, *Une Version Latine de Stendhal . . . D'Après Misson*, Armand Caraccio.
- Revue de L'Histoire des Religions—January-February, *La Doctrine de la "Deification" dans l'Église Grecque jusqu'au XI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, M. Lot-Borodine; *Mithra-Phaethon chez Nonnus*, H. J. Rose [the author objects to the identification, made by Fr. Cumont in an earlier article, of Mithras with the mythological Phaethon in Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 11.400, 21.250]; *Réponse à l'Article de M. H. J. Rose, Fr. Cumont*; Long review, favorable, by E. Dhorme, of J. G. Février, *Essai sur l'Histoire Politique et Économique de Palmyre and La Religion des Palmyréniens*; Review, generally favorable, by H.-C. Puech, of Henri Gregoire and M.-A. Kugener, *Marc le Diacre: Vie de Porphyre, Evêque de Gaza*; March-June, *Les Noms de la Grande Déesse*, Jean Przyluski; *Légendes Babylonniennes dans les Metamorphoses d'Ovide*, Paul Perdrizet [in this long article, after discussing certain of the Babylonian legends of *Metamorphoses* 4, including that of Pyramus and Thisbe, the author attempts to ascertain what sort of author it was from whom Ovid borrowed his Babylonian history, and, finally, considers the extent of Hellenistic literature in Syria, especially in Babylonia]; Review, generally favorable, by M. Goguel, of Aimé Puech, *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque Chrétienne depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Fin du IV<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Tome III).
- Revue de Littérature Comparée—April-June, Review, generally favorable, by Georges Lafourcade, of W. R. Rutland, *Swinburne: A Nineteenth Century Hellene*.
- La Revue de Paris—September 1, *Les Fouilles Récentes en Afrique du Nord*, P. Wuilleumier [I. *Afrique Française*; II. *Afrique Italienne*]; October 1, *Les Livres d'Histoire*, A. Albert-Petit [this contains a favorable review of André Piganiol, *Empereur Constantin*].
- Revue des Deux Mondes—September 15, *Esquisse d'une Doctrine Coloniale Française*, II, Gabriel Hanotaux ["En Tunisie-La Protectorat"].
- The Review of English Studies—April, Review, generally unfavorable, by J. B. Leishman, of Robert Spindler, *Robert Browning und die Antike* (two parts); October, Review, mildly unfavorable, by M. Ashdown, of T. B. Haber, *A Comparative Study of the Beowulf and the Aeneid*; Review, generally favorable, by Edward Bensly, of Dougall Crane, *Johannes Secundus: His Life, Work, and Influence on English Literature*.
- The School Review—May, Review, qualifiedly favorable, by Frances Morehouse, of Hutton Webster, *Ancient Civilization*; September, Review, qualifiedly favorable, by W. J. Grinstead, of Harry E. Wedeck, *Third Year Latin*.
- Scientia—Volume 51 (1932), No. 8, *L'Evoluzione dei Metodi nella Filologia Classica*, B. Lavagnini; No. 9, *Das Mathematische im Menschen*, M. Dehn.
- Scientific American—August, *From the Archeologist's Note Book: Herculaneum Emerges from Solidified Mud; An Historic Orgy; Model of Greek Loom* [the brief text is accompanied by five photographic illustrations]; September, *A Masterpiece of Museum-Craft* [this brief article, accompanied by three photographic illustrations, deals with the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, which "has taught an object lesson in museum technique which is an outstanding achievement in museum-craft"]; November, *New*

Light on Sassanian Culture [the brief article, with three photographic illustrations, gives further particulars about excavations at Ctesiphon].

The Scientific Monthly—August, The Crime of Archaeology—A Study of Weathering, H. F. Cleland [a few "striking examples of the destruction by the weather of works of antiquity" are discussed. "Two suggestions for the preservation of archaeological finds are offered. The first is to re-bury excavations after they have been thoroughly studied; the second is that scientists be encouraged to search for some means by which objects exposed to the weather can be kept from disintegration"]; October, Human Postures and the Beginnings of Seating Furniture, Walter Hough [the article is accompanied by seven photographic illustrations].

The Sewanee Review—April-June, Sappho, Herbert E. Mierow [a poem in Sapphic stanzas]; A New England House of Atreus, Frances W. Knickerbocker [a critique of Eugene O'Neill, Mourning Becomes Electra, with particular reference to its Greek dramatic antecedents]; July-September, Walter Pater and the Good Life, Edwin B. Burgum [in Pater "spontaneous Greek emotion is transcribed, after all, into the reservations of Victorian propriety. And I think the confident beginning and the hesitant redundant phrasing of the end of Pater's sentence represent precisely the manner in which in his own emotional life his conception of Greek naturalism was met and falsified, without ever being quite falsified, by the uncertainty and the fear of paganism in the Victorian temper"]; Brief review, generally favorable, anonymous, of Shaemus O'Sheel, Sophokles: Antigone, A New Redaction in the American Language; Brief review, favorable, anonymous, of Adriano Tilgher, Work: What It Has Meant to Men Through the Ages; Brief review, favorable, anonymous, of Hermann Schneider, The History of World Civilization from Prehistoric Times to the Middle Ages; October-December, Humanism and Folly, Arthur E. Du Bois [the article concerns itself with Erasmus's Praise of Folly, in which "Erasmus tried to find a mean between pagan hedonism and Christian-pagan Stoicism and between Stoic optimism and Christian pessimism. His proper study was man. And inasmuch as he leaned heavily upon classical (particularly those of Plato, Lucian, and Seneca) and mediaeval notions of psychology, it was inevitable that such an attempt should result in an ironic disquisition on folly"]].

The Spectator—February 20, Review, generally favorable, anonymous, of A. T. Olmstead, History of Palestine and Syria to the Macedonian Conquest; February 27, J. E. C. Weldon, Latin Pronunciation; Review, favorable, by D. H. V., of Theodore

Komisarjevsky, The Costume of the Theatre; March 19, Frank Jones and Cleveland Banks, The Pronunciation of Latin; Review, generally favorable, anonymous, of B. F. C. Atkinson, The Greek Language; March 26, Short Review, favorable, anonymous, of Phyllis B. Tillyard (translator), Milton: Private Correspondence and Academic Exercises; April 2, Review, favorable, anonymous, of J. F. D'Alton, Roman Literary Theory and Criticism; April 16, Review, favorable, anonymous, of John Buchan, Julius Caesar; April 23, Review, favorable, by J. E. S., of F. M. Wright, A History of Later Greek Literature; April 30, Short review, favorable, anonymous, of Charlotte M. Leaf (editor), Walter Leaf, 1852-1927; Short review, favorable, anonymous, of A. R. Burn, The Romans in Britain.

Social Forces—March, The Desirability and the Possibility of an Examination of the Social Thought of the Ancient Civilizations, J. O. Hertzler.

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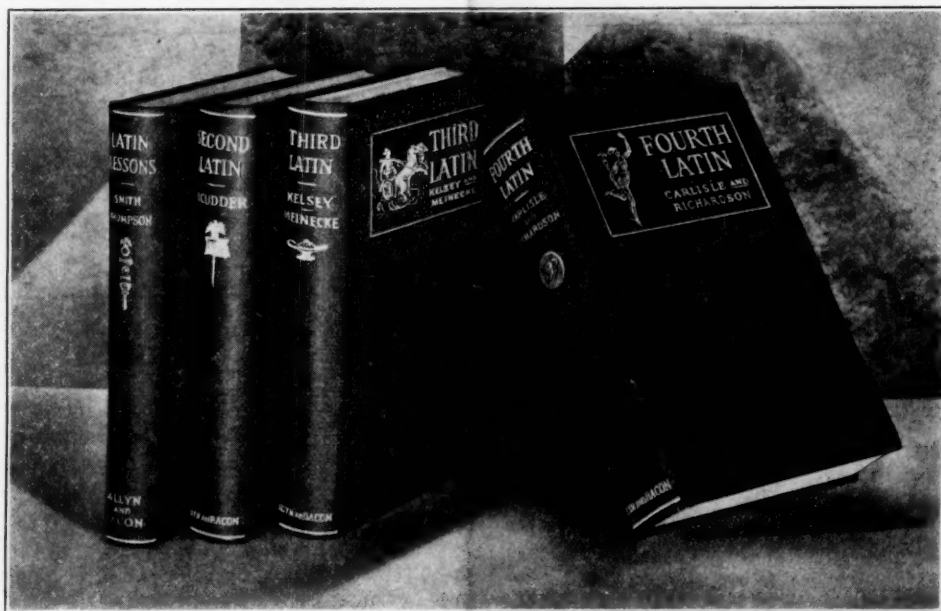
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